1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 494 496 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 369 291 142 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 495 161 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. 505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. 133 Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good [501] fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills [226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, [361] muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's [162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with [365] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the [504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, 505 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive 512 messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the 344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Migrant sugar-cane workers, late afternoon

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[P 45]

Big House and chapel, symbol of the past

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly.

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft.

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm.

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men.

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 514 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toi- [124] let facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The con- [515] struction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put [513] on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

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794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few lit-
[535] tle barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[565] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days,
for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural
[794] area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
[565] frequently made.

All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed.
[184] It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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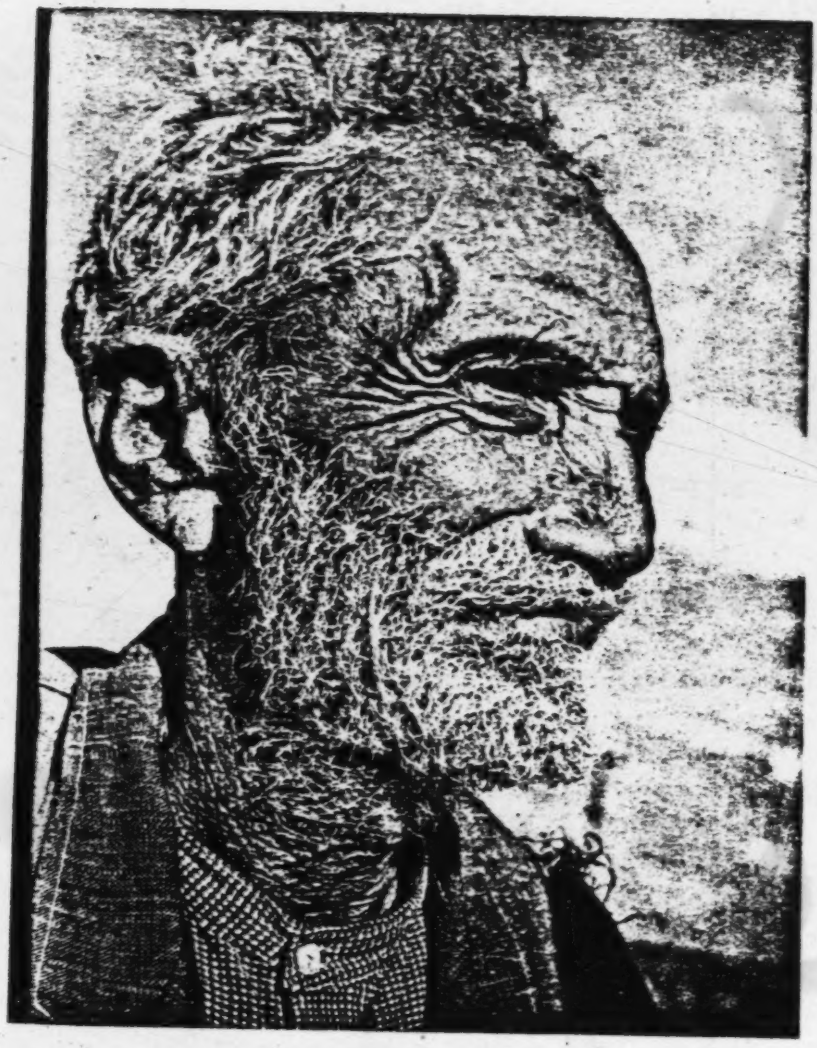
[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

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565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [207] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [794] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [177] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grûnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by

[854]

the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry

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their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently

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heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the

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canzá, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeoisie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[143] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.'[144]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

[143] Employer.

[144] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[1] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[1] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190-91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 144-45).

[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através do Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

" The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguendem*, *balançanças*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

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The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13]

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The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15]

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The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung .... crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. .... They completely dominated our religious festivals. .... They

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816-1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacaranda*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinço de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem .... etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has .... etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

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* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de santo*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*. Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* begin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel, counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped behind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bátû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing, one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
* 563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
* 563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
* 563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
• 291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
* 563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

* 563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--20 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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At the University

5: Azevedo--64 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

5: Azevedo--65 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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6. The Black at work.

5: Azevedo--85 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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8. Composers of music.

5: Azevedo--106 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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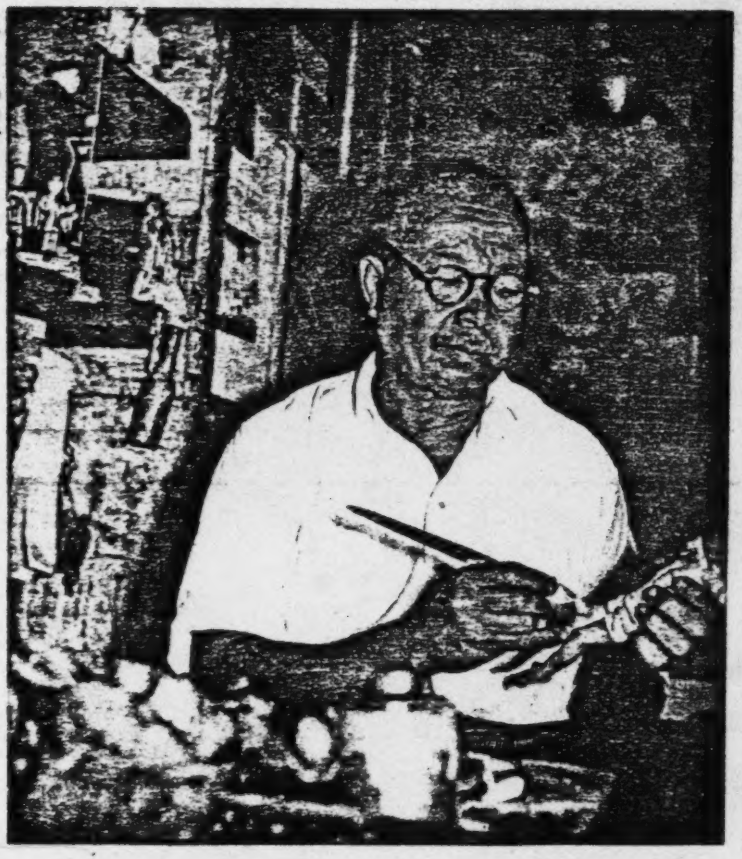

10. A colored artisan.

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."